609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[576] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[591] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
● [562 342] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhê."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.
513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old
352 men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
● [567] never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

224 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude
221 husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

361 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly
621 united although divided into twenty villages.
619 It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

584 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond
[545] between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

562 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekçá or warriors' quarters.

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609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceará ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nye*, the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [417] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [223] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The 261 wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

342 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p.57—A.—Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing. Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

Food preparation.—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

The dwelling house (ekqa, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

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Karusakaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau (Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite (Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karusakaibō's companion and helper is Daiiru (Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karusakaibō and his sons and companion is a recurrent theme in several myths reported by Strömer and Tocantins. In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karusakaibō learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daiiru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daiiru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karusakaibō; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karusakaibō had made the world but had not created men. One day Daiiru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karusakaibō blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daiiru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karusakaibō made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karusakaibō then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strömer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have once been in possession of the men's house, while the men lived in the

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dwelling house. The men did all the work, including such women's tasks as fetching firewood, providing manioc, and baking manioc meal. The woman ruler of the tribe and two companions found three sacred trumpets and secretly practiced playing on them in the forest. When the men discovered the secret, they took the trumpets away from the women. The women were sent to the dwelling house and were forbidden to look again upon the trumpets, while the men took possession of the men's house.

Both Strömer (1932) and Farabee (1917 a) report a myth which tells that the sun once fell upon the earth and destroyed its inhabitants by fire. Five days after the fire, the creator sent a vulture from the sky to see if the earth had cooled, but the vulture remained to eat the bodies of men who had been killed. After 4 days a blackbird was sent, but it remained to eat the charred buds of the trees. Four days later, the creator sent a dove, which returned with earth between its claws. Then the creator came down and recreated men and animals of white potter's clay.[4]

LORE AND LEARNING

A few miscellaneous cosmological beliefs were obtained by Farabee: Karusakaibō created the sun by transforming a young man who had red eyes and long white hair. The moon is a transformed virgin with white skin. The rain spirit makes thunder by rolling a pestle in a mortar. The constellations are men and animals in a great savanna. An eclipse of the sun is due to a great fire which sweeps over its surface. A powerful shaman once ascended to the sun and put out the fire. Now, when an eclipse occurs, the shaman sends his yakpu to clear the sun. The yakpu (a fragment of meteoric iron) falls to the earth as a ball of fire. After it cools, the shaman puts it away until the next eclipse.

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[4] For texts of some of the myths given in condensed form above, see Strömer (1932); for other myths, not included in this account, see Strömer (ibid.) and Tocantins (1877). Farabee (1917 a) also gives three animal fables which he attributes to the *Mundurucú*.

344 the ground. Between these beams, the men stretched their hammocks to sleep.

361 Like all Tropical Forest Indian villages, the Kundurucú village shifted location every five to ten years due to the exhaustion of nearby stands of high forest in which to make gardens. Each village had a definite area, usually a certain savannah, in which it moved. After 30 to 50 years a new forest cover on previously used land made it adaptable to horticulture again. Today, the reduced population of the contemporary villages makes frequent village shift due to lack of garden land unnecessary, but a new village is built every ten years due to the rapid decay of the houses, and also because the immediate environs become overgrown with weeds that are soon infested with insects and snakes. The locale of the new village was chosen by common consent, and the houses were built collectively. The last structure to be 344 562 built was the men's house. Until it was built the flutes were kept in the old men's house.

The men's house

The Kundurucú exhibited the most complete development of the male-female social division and accompanying men's house complex to be found in South America. Among the Canayura, the men's house is a ritual center.[14] Among the Bororo, it serves this function and is also a bachelor's and young men's sleeping quarter.[15] However, all the Kundurucú males from the age of about seventeen, worked, gathered and held council,

14. Oberg, 1953, p. 84.

15. Colbacchini, 1942, p. 35.

ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beiú was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778
534 the men who carried out the food had to bring a portion into the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796
775 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulae that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796
● 562 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dominated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
796
562 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

796 lesser degree, for the men led the dance and played the in-
562 struments. This was a circle dance in which animals, birds,
535 and fish were imitated and, although greatly enjoyed, had no religious significance.

[pp 70- end, not processed]

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602 619 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjuí*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*uun yũ*) or "younger (*o kãĩ*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*[illegible]*) and "grandsons" (*tapũ*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjuug*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjuí*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapũ*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*uuyũ*) and "younger (*o kãĩ*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*a ruun*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*auuk*), "mother" (*ai i*), and "daughter" (*da ũ*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 ●562 The social structure of the Mundurucú village was characterized by a deep cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mundurucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

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The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any women who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waru* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

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within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt

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621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the
578 women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
● [562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[156] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

534 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

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776 224 [756] propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their coöperation.

562 224 This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[3] and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about [174] a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,[4] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

776 224 756 The mother of the game, or *putcha ši*,[5] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *putcha ši* and animals is conceived by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *putcha ši* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *putcha ši* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirakuá*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coatá monkey. The Mundurucú *wirakuá* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirakuá* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirakuá* guise, the *putcha ši* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *putcha ši* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *putcha ši* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *putcha ši* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[3] See the myth of Perisuat on pp. 187–201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[4] Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 396 and Strömer, 1932, p. 1.
[5] Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription [128] and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

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756 lieve that it is incumbent upon them to help the sick and to perform their obligations to the supernatural world.

756 428 562 One does not seek to become a shaman among the Mundurucú, nor is shamanism the result of a serious illness or an extraordinary experience, as is true in many societies. The power is acquired only through inheritance from the father, and it is believed that all children of shamans are also shamans, although they may not practice the art in later life. For all practical purposes, however, only male children inherit shamanistic power. The female offspring of shamans are nominally classified as shamans also, and women evidently participated more fully in the practice until a relatively recent period, for Tocantins reports a number of women to have been accused of sorcery, knowledge of which is confined to shamans, in and about the year 1875.[1] Today, active status is limited to men, and the daughters of shamans are considered to be shamans in an academic sense only.

756 Mundurucú informants were unable to explain the shaman's power beyond saying that it is within him and that he is born with it. It is not thought of in concrete terms, as a supernatural object lodged within his body, nor is the power thought to reside in supernaturals whom the shaman controls. The absence of any concept of control or of coöperation with certain spirits is rather unusual in this section of South America. Métraux, for example, reports the trait for the Tupinamba,[2] and Wagley has written of the use of familiar spirits among both the Tapirapé[3] and the Tenetehara.[4] In the regions to the south of the Mundurucú, Oberg states that shamans are aided by spirits among the Kamayurá, Bacairí, and Nambicuara.[5] Investigation failed to indicate, however, that the Mundurucú shaman was aided in any way by supernatural beings. He is in contact with the supernatural world and is capable of coöperating with it or defeating its intents, but he accomplishes this through direct use of the unlocalized power contained within him and not through the intermediary of spirits. Also, all shamans have some form of contact with all supernatural beings; none has special relations with any particular supernatural.

[888] Some shamans are thought to be more powerful than others. The most effective practitioners are usually the older men, for they are considered to have acquired experience and skill. However, the crucial determinant of a shaman's strength is the strength of his father, for the sons are believed to inherit the degree of power of the parent. Some older Mundurucú men barely practiced, since their power was considered slight, whereas younger men were often highly regarded as shamans. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, two or three shamans are looked upon as being in possession of great strength, and their services are in heavy demand. On one occasion, a man became violently ill shortly after midnight and needed immediate care. The village shaman was away, so it was necessary for one of the sick man's relatives to set out through the forest, which is feared at night, on the path to the next village. He directed its shaman to the aid of his sick rela-

[1] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109–111.
[2] Métraux, 1948, p. 129.
[3] Wagley, 1943.
[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108 ff.
[5] Oberg, 1953, pp. 60, 75, 100.

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into the village. He shouted to the villagers to bring fire, but nobody heard him, and he then turned into the curujão da noite (a bird). When he flew away he took the thread of day with him, and nobody knows to this day where it is. That is why the nights are so long. 539x

21. MOTHER OF THE RAIN

In times past wounded warriors used to turn into shamans during the period of their disability and wandered over the world in this form. One of these warriors was once walking along a path when he met an old woman who was really the Mother of the Rain. He said to her, "Where are you going, old woman?" The woman, who was carrying an empty basket on her back replied, "I am going to gather fruit," and she named many species of fruit that she intended to collect. As she turned away the warrior pulled on her basket, dragging it to the ground. Out of the empty basket tumbled so much fruit that the warrior could not eat it all; she had created this fruit to demonstrate her power to the wounded man. The angry old woman then exclaimed, "You are not a real shaman. You have only become one for a short time, and only because you went to war and were wounded." She then continued on her way, but since that time there has been an abundance of fruit in the forest, whereas there previously had been but little.

CULTURAL INVENTIONS AND INNOVATIONS

The following myths are specifically concerned with explaining cultural innovations. The first two are the longest and, to the Mundurucú, the most important and account for the origin of the sacred trumpets and of horticulture. The first is a true social charter, for it validates the ascendancy of the male in Mundurucú society. It reveals also the basic insecurity of the male position; the women once owned the instruments and the men can retain them only by force. In short, the male role is felt to be subject to constant threat. The reader will immediately recognize the almost globally distributed theme associated with sacred musical instruments forbidden to the eyes of women. 538 562

The myth of the origin of horticulture and domesticated plants makes a clear association between these aspects of culture and womanhood and nurture of the young. The story demonstrates an obvious congruence not only with the female principle in fertility, but with the primary role of the woman in horticulture.

22. INVENTION OF THE SACRED TRUMPETS

The sacred trumpets of the Mundurucú, called the *karökõ*, are taboo to the sight of women, but the women once owned them. In fact it was the women who first discovered the trumpets. 539x

There were once three women named Yanyonbõri, Tuembirú, and Parawarõ. When these women went to collect firewood, they frequently heard music from some unknown source. One day they became thirsty and went off in search of water. Deep in the forest they found a beautiful, shallow, and clear lake, of which they had no previous knowledge. This lake came to be named Karökõboaptí,

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of work performed and the added importance of the co-operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks and a degree of organization among the women of a household. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[15]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Valley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female

[15] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

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105 174 562 614 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in particular, that extended families increasingly sought to keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matrilocal mode of residence.

105 174 614 This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society, and its further consequences will be developed in the course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious change, however, was the destruction of the residential basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dispersed, but since descent is through females a co-resident lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained. This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patrilineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus, although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclectic.

614 The result of this fragmentation has been the severe weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form, the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic and political characteristics. Its members were in everyday interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments, had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

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THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house eksá to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the eksá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the eksá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 35.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

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114 but it is equally possible that the former reporter was cor-
345 rect and that the present composition of the men's house
575 represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceed-
ing from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú
social structure, if the men's house was the residence of
591 bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were
621 fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality
562 would have kept the latter in the village. They would then
have been faced with either permanent residence in the
men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their
wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of
the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incor-
poration into the household economy and authority struc-
ture. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any
matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of
the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocal-
ity by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such
easement is important, for, in contrast to the local endog-
amy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mun-
durucú male commonly comes from another village and
does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts pre-
rogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At
the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then
prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans un-
doubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may
be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from an-
other community. The young man caught in the process of
change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate
himself to permanent residence in a village in which he
had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of
the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female,
the male plays the main role in the structure of authority
and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] *Cf.* Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

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tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, but the problem of the integration of the male into a household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilineality and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same moiety and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

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476 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and sus-
183 picion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men.
578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the
621 Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá
345 only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in
778 which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber
534 adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

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leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

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534 complied under the condition that they could occupy the
562 men's house and play the trumpets there. The men ac-
773 ceded, and the women, their position supernaturally re-
778 inforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beijú* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *eksá* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

534 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to
562 the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordi-
778 nation. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the
831 classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember
[688] this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

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but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

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562 578 571 [184] mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

182 534 778 562 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling 342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

594 husband and wife occa-
sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

● [562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

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brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village

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them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

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done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reëstablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

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THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

THE RUBBER TRADE

When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campinciro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

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the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the Indians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-